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America and Ireland

By Frank H. Simonds

There is one fact which must be recognized at this time by all friends of Ireland in and out of that unhappy country. This is the fact of the war between the United States and the German Empire. It has changed everything, and its influence will determine American action and American opinion until it closes.

It will be a mistake, and a tragic mistake, for Irishmen to rely upon American sympathy and support in any open or covert attack upon our British ally, which can serve only a German purpose and end only by placing a larger part of the burden of the battle against the common enemy upon the shoulders of American man-power.

There is just one way that Ireland can enlist American sympathy for her aspirations and her ambition. And this is by performing her part of what all Americans believe is the common task of all civilized mankind. If Ireland will not fight the enemy, not merely or primarily of England, but the enemy of all of us who hold to certain ideas and certain ideals, then the Irish people are out of court. They will have no standing, however great may be their local wrongs, however unjust in detail their punishment.

The United States is to-day thoroughly at war with Germany. It is at war with Germany as no one could have believed it would be two years ago. Americans returning from Europe will find themselves amazed at the transformation of the American spirit and the American point of view. The country has risen to the war as a united people. It has a determination and it has a unanimity which must confuse the critics of other days and satisfy the most ardent of contemporary patriots. And, this being true, there is not the smallest hope that Ireland can enlist American sympathy for any rebellion at this time, particularly as such a rebellion must have the appearance, if not the reality, of being fomented by German agents.

There has been in past years an enormous sympathy in this country for Ireland outside of the ranks of the professional Irish agitators. There was a very genuine feeling of sympathy at the time of the Irish Rebellion in Easter week, 1916. But since that time the United States has entered the war. It is devoting its resources, in lives as well as treasure, to defeating the German assault upon our common civilization, and to-day if Ireland does not march—if, instead of marching, Ireland draws British bayonets from Flanders to Connaught, from the defence of Ypres to the holding of Cork—there will be but one consequence, and there can be but one consequence. There will be lost for Ireland now and perhaps forever all that sympathy and all that support which have been so real in the last half century.

The same thing has happened in France, where the tradition of sympathy with Ireland is very ancient and has survived all previous changes. Invaded France cannot understand why the Irish have chosen this moment to lessen the effectiveness of Allied military operations for the deliverance of France. Nor shall we in America more easily understand why our own soldiers, passing through Ireland on their way to the front, are attacked, or the common task made more difficult by a threat of Irish rebellion behind our firing line.

There should be no illusion as to the fact. Many who love Ireland will regret the present attitude of the American people, but none of those should misunderstand it. As far as America is concerned, future sympathy for Ireland must be predicated on Irish participation in the great war—and participation on the Allied side. If the Irish will not march with us now, neither now nor for long hereafter is there any reason to believe that the real grievances and the just claims of the Irish will obtain a hearing in this country. We do not understand and we cannot understand why when the German is loose in the world any man can do other than fight him, whatever his private wrongs or racial grievances. When this war is over the voice of America will be heard in Europe and listened to in England, and with it may be joined the voices of the British Colonies. But all will be silent so far as Ireland is concerned if at Armageddon Ireland stands with the German or fails to stand against him.

It is the plain duty and the immediate duty of all who have an interest in Ireland or have preserved any relations with Irishmen to make clear what American feeling is. If Ireland chooses to sacrifice American sympathy by a course which will hurt only her friends and help the German alone, the American consequences will be certain. Not in many long years to come can Irishmen hope for American support.

The present appeal of Ireland to America has fallen on deaf ears. Our sons are fighting in Lorraine, in Picardy and in Flanders. They are fighting with Englishmen and Scotchmen and Frenchmen against a common enemy. Our friends, our allies, now and hereafter, will be those who also fought.

How Much Shall I Give?

The present Red Cross appeal reaches each of us with new and redoubled force. Our men, our friends and relatives, are fighting, falling, dying in France, and a few dollars given here to-day mean doctors, nurses, skill, comfort, saved limbs, saved lives over there to-morrow. It is useless to waste words urging such a gift. Every American worth shedding one drop of blood for will dig into his pocket at the first call and give every penny that he can spare.

The only question that each of us faces is just how much he can spare. The words are easy enough to say, but they raise a puzzling problem, one that involves the whole theory of our duty in the war.

To give we must have, and, for most of us, having, in the present hour, means saving—steady, consistent, increasing saving, day by day, courageously, without regard to convention or comfort. This sounds like a truism. But most of us realize by this time how inexpert we are at saving, how much we have to learn of thrift, how hard a rub it is to fall to and put behind us cherished conveniences and luxuries that make either for display or for a tickled palate.

We are learning how to give, which is to say we are learning how to save. It is all one task. The absolute unity of the war, of our job in it as a nation, is steadily becoming clearer in our eyes. The old rhyme of our childhood of the battle that was lost for lack of a nail is seen to be no poetical fancy, but cold, literal truth. We must all of us fight if we are to win. And for us at home fighting means, first and foremost, a reordering of our lives, an abandonment of show and brag and the setting up of new ideals of thrift and patriotic generosity.

So we say, don't give the Red Cross merely the spare change in your pocket. That is a lazy peace trick. It is not war. Give, rather, what you can save, to-day and henceforward, by fresh self-denial, by a new dedication of your daily life to your country's needs.

Love or Hate—or What?

In Sunday's Tribune, in the little group of aphorisms and epigrams translated from the Russian Anton Chekhov, our eye caught this particular one:

> "The strongest human tie is not love, or friendship, or mutual respect—but a common hatred of something or somebody."

What a self-revelation in a single sentence! Here you have the character of the man, as it were, flashed upon a screen. This is his idea of life!

If this same question were put to any hundred people, how many different answers would be received? A score or more, at least. Indeed, would any two wholly agree?

And the same is true of practically all of life's relations. Why do we work so hard? Why do we struggle so intensely to make some little place in the world? Is it love of riches merely? Is it envy of the rich? Is it jealousy of those around us and above us? Is it the joy of doing, the lust of feeling our strength go out to practical ends? Is it family, or ambition, or a wish to contribute something to the common good?

Here, again, out of every hundred probably fifty or seventy-five would make each a different answer from the other. The real fact probably is that we have a will and a desire to live; and the reasons for this we each fashion after the idea of what will bring us the largest measure of happiness. Even in Anton Chekhov's darkly inverted soul this same principle was stirring when he wrote the bitter gibe we have quoted.

What Credit Expansion Does

We reprint to-day a remarkably clear exposition of why credit expansion makes prices higher and hinders our war progress. It is from Professor O. M. W. Sprague, of Harvard, who has the gift not only of thinking clearly but writing simply. Sometimes we are tempted to believe that the two things go together. If at the end of a column or two you cannot make out what a writer is trying to say, you may make a fair guess that he does not know himself.

The credit question bothers a great many people, even those who pretend to write about these matters and even those who have dealt in credit all their business lives.

That is why we have distinguished bankers proposing to inflate credits without a thought as to what this will do to the cost of living and how it will affect people whose incomes are small and more or less stationary. Professor Sprague does make this clear, and we hope some of our bankers and those who have the finances of the nation in their hands will read it. And we wish there were hundreds of Professor Spragues to write so admirably, and then a thousand Tribunes to print what they have to say. Then the larger public would understand, and we should have a public opinion to forbid headlong credit expansion.

As it is, the number of men like Professor Sprague and Irving Fisher and George E. Roberts and Simon Patten, who have made their protest, is small, and The Tribune is about the only newspaper or journal we know of that has given the question any wide publicity.

It is no especial wonder why we remain "a nation of economic illiterates."

The Bayards of the Air

For Americans Lufbery held a place among fighting aviators like that of Guynemer in France or Richthofen in Germany. He was our ranking "ace"; though, with our remoteness from the slang of the front, most Americans would probably be puzzled to identify him, classified thus in the terminology of the card table.

There have been Kings of the Air and Queens of the Air before this war, but never Aces. Yet the new term was needed, so completely have the air prodigies of the present eclipsed the air prodigies of the past. To be a first-class air fighter to-day is to rank with the great knights of the era of chivalry, who towered so immeasurably above all other combatants.

By a curious parallelism, too, air warfare is the only branch of warfare in which anything of the old spirit of chivalry has persisted. This does not apply to the bombers, who commit assassination from the clouds, attacking hospitals and undefended cities and slaying civilians—mostly old men, women and children.

But as between individuals fighting in the blue a strange code of personal and professional respect has been maintained. They fight as enemies, yet without passion—as men and not as maddened animals. In a contest requiring so high a degree of daring and valor each antagonist involuntarily concedes the other's quality. Richthofen was buried with military honors by his opponents. And the same tribute would be paid to an Allied aviator falling within the German lines.

This is the one field in which we find the more honorable traditions of war as Frederick the Great and Louis XV knew it surviving. It is so, perhaps, because air fighting is still an art, rather than an impersonal, brutalized business. However that may be, the world is right in heroizing the great air fighters above all other fighters. They are Chevalier Bayards of our day. Their names, like his, are sure of immortality.

Our All-American Team

No American army in France would be complete without negro regiments in it. And no negro regiments of ours could be very long in France without breaking into the news with a vengeance. It is a way they have, whether the spot is San Juan Hill or anywhere else.

Now that Harry Johnson, of Albany, N. Y., and Needham Roberts, of Trenton, N. J., have been cited in the orders of the day and are to receive the cross with the palm, we can feel sure that America is in the war, and in the war to stay. They are of Hayward's Browns, as nearly as the censor graciously permits us to guess. And the regiment is brigaded with the French, who cannot say enough of their soldierly qualities. The story of Johnson and Roberts and their fight with guns and grenades and hands and knives gives us a glimpse of one of the finest and pluckiest American scraps of the war.

There could not be more loyal Americans or better two-fisted fighters than our negro soldiers. We are proud as proud of them, and we salute them all in the persons of Privates Johnson and Roberts, cited for the Croix de Guerre before the army of France.

A Tiny Billion

The first Federal budget of railroad capital is announced. It is approximately $1,000,000,000, to be allocated among all the carriers according to their apparent needs. This is hailed as a prodigious sum of money; but it is only about 6 per cent of the existing capital investment in stations, terminals, roadway and equipment. If we could say that railroad facilities were going to be increased 6 per cent, that would be little enough. It would be approximately equal to the normal increase of peace times. But it is really less than that. "The figures," says the Associated Press dispatch, "disclose Director General McAdoo's determination to let the railroads make many improvements which they had neglected during the last three years, through permitting tracks to run down and postponing all possible projects requiring big expenditures of capital."

So it appears that a part of this billion-dollar budget will be used to make good depreciation and wear and tear, all of which ought to be taken care of out of earnings. How much of the new capital will be spent upon work which ought to be performed out of the earnings of the railroad business is unknown. There seems to be no thought of distinguishing between (a) maintenance and rehabilitation, which should be a charge against earnings, and (b) actual additions to property, which may properly be paid for with new money. Failure to make such distinctions has been in the past a prolific cause of railroad bankruptcy.

If there can be found the labor and materials, railroad facilities ought to be increased 10 per cent this year from new capital, and all disrepair should be made good out of earnings. If rates are not high enough to give earnings out of which disrepair can be made good, then they should be raised.

The chief dangers of government control are two, namely, first, that new money will be spent for maintenance, and, second, that not enough new money will be provided for additions, owing to the difficulty of thinking in billion-dollar units of expenditure.

Coiled in the Flag Hear s-s-s-s-s t

From The Evening Post

Democratic politicians, and more especially those who are allied with Tammany Hall, are viewing with satisfaction the barring of the Hearst newspapers from suburban communities with columns and columns of attendant publicity in all the other newspapers, large and small, throughout the state. Nothing, according to politicians, has ever arisen in the political career of William Randolph Hearst that has carried more menace to Hearst's political aspirations than the campaign against his newspapers.

Hearst's strength, it is acknowledged on all sides, lies to a great extent in his newspapers, but until the present time there has been no real campaign against their circulation. That the movements in Mount Vernon and Summit, N. J., where official action was taken, or where there was official cognizance of action barring the Hearst newspapers, are by no means peculiar to these communities is certain, for it has been remarked in other communities near New York, and also within the city itself, that the number of Hearst newspapers remaining unsold on the newsstands has increased steadily within the past month. This is taken as proof that Hearst's support is falling away from him, by a process of what military men would call attrition.

Politicians agree that the action of Hearst and his business managers in seeking to prove a criminal conspiracy against his publications and in carrying the case to Edward Swann, District Attorney, is an indication that "the shoe pinches." They laugh at the pretensions of the Hearst attorneys that they are seeking to safeguard the rights not only of their own newspapers, but of all other newspapers. What they are afraid of, the politicians say, is that the sentiment against the Hearst newspapers will become so strong that it will mean the political death of their owner. . . .

Hearst is now entangled in a net, politicians believe, from which he will have the greatest difficulty in extricating himself. By fighting through the courts the boycott that has been started against his newspapers, his political antagonists believe he will only "add fuel to the flames." Every move he makes will bring additional publicity for the movement, and the more people know about the boycott the more powerful, it is believed, will the anti-Hearst sentiment become. This boycott of his newspapers, it is argued, will lead inevitably to the political boycott of their owner. Hearst's political prospects have been dealt a body blow, according to the politicians.

A Plea From One of Hearst's Former Victims

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I arrived in this City from Denmark my native country in 1892 unable to speak or read the english language In a short time I picked up enough english to realise through the pictures in Hearsts papers of Prest McKinley what a bad man the President was and as there was never, to my knowledge, anybody who objected to the information given the public through the Hearst papers I considered it must be taken absolutely for granted that the President was an unworthy person. One morning while walking on the street in Mt Vernon where I resided I was told the President had been assasinated. I hurried home and informed my Wife that now that bad man was out of the way of whom we had seen so many pictures in the Hearsts newspapers. I immediately purchased one of Hearsts papers and expected to find it in joyous celebration but to my surprise it had a headline like this "That one of our greatest statesmen and best member of society had been shamefully assassinated by a cruel murderer." It did not take me long to detect that no matter what city official was elected if they did not run after Hearsts whistle, they would all be mercilessly attacked by his yellow print. I know that the assassin was brought to justice and punished and I am still wondering how Hearst got away with this without being prosecuted as his papers actually had the tendency to instigate foul acts upon the persons he in his picture so badly besmirched without the slightest reason, the only motive being by having sensational articles which absolutely appeal to the most ignorant classes, increasing the circulation of his papers and filling his purse.

yours very truly

FRED. W. JENSEN,
No. 107 West St.

New York, May 17, 1918.

Burleson's Flounderings

(From The Globe)

Postmaster General Burleson pretends to be satisfied with his epistolary exchanges with Colonel Roosevelt. He salutes himself as victor in a cock-a-doodle-doo manner. No one having said that he has discomfited his opponent, he says it himself.

Mr. Burleson is the author of a telegram congratulating Mr. Hearst's chief lieutenant when put in charge at Chicago. It is not of consequence what exact language he employed. He is old enough to know what was implied when such exceptional felicitations were publicly transmitted. To condemn poor "Billy" Hard for one offence while gathering Mr. Hearst to his bosom would seem close to showing that discrimination of which Colonel Roosevelt complained.

If Mr. Burleson has real friends at Washington, and the mood of letter-writing assails him, let them rally as one man and keep pen and paper away from him. He cannot be trusted to give himself a fair chance. He has not yet learned the great wisdom of keeping still when the only possible reply is a weak one. Let the Postmaster General stick to taking away mail tubes from New York.

A May Evening

I SAW the long fair afternoon decline,
And in the amethystine west afar
Outgleam the glory of a single star,
A peaceful star, it seemed of peace a sign.
And at the woodland's edge a voice divine,
The thrush, I heard, bar after silver bar
Of melting music, with no sound to mar
The mounting rapture of one lyric line.

And then, and then, imagination wrought
A dreadful change, and, lo, mine eyes descried
The battle-stars above the Oise and Somme;
The cannon's awful music boomed and died,
And boomed again, and I could think of naught
Save the world gripped by War's delirium!

CLINTON SCOLLARD.

TOMMY'S AND POILU'S GREETING TO SAMMY

A Thousand Greetings!

How Inflation Hinders War

By O. M. W. Sprague
Professor of Economics, Harvard University
(From "The Nation's Business")

I WANT to call attention to the way in which the manner of financing the war reacts upon the speed with which the government can develop its programme. In raising $12,000,000,000 it has been absolutely essential to make use of the credit machinery of the country.

The extent to which credit is permanently expanded in connection with financing the war has not been touched upon. The initial subscriptions to the various loans must be met somehow or other, to whatever extent is necessary, by means of credit expansion.

But if the people who have subscribed to the loans, or other people, while the proceeds of each successive loan are being expended, do not save enough to liquidate the borrowings which they have made at the banks in order to subscribe to the loans, then we have a condition of a more or less permanent addition to the volume of credit. It ceases to be merely a revolving credit of a more or less fixed amount, perhaps expanding a little and then contracting to something like an equivalent extent. There is a permanent upper swing.

Now, that means in the first place an advance in prices. The government gets a large amount of purchasing power, which it uses, coming into the market for goods. The people have not contracted their demand for goods, their use of purchasing power, to an equivalent extent. Therefore prices go up. To some extent I agree that that is inevitable; but here it is primarily a question of degree.

As Germany Does

In Germany they have facilitated free loans on every conceivable kind of security in order to stimulate subscriptions to their bond sales, and the people have subscribed. But thereafter, while the government has been expending the proceeds of the loans, the people have to a very large extent saved and liquidated those loans, so that credit there has in large part revolved. When you consider the enormous loans which the Germans have made, together with the number of men in their armies, it is simply astonishing the way in which they have kept down credit expansions. The only way that that can possibly be done is by saving.

What are the consequences of a failure to save? A pull on labor by the government in one direction and a pull for labor on the part of the people in the opposite direction

War Will Not Stop

This war is not going to be allowed to stop on account of the failure of the people to save; but if the people do not save prices will go skyrocketing still further, with further disturbance of the local utilities and a further drain upon all the people with fixed incomes.

It is sometimes supposed that by the use of credit in some way or other the burden of financing this war is shifted from the present to the future. That is an absolute and unqualified fallacy. The government cannot use in this war anything but the current products of labor and capital which are now in existence.

The process of credit expansion, as contrasted with saving, has a very different effect in the burden which it imposes upon different classes of the community. Financing the war largely by credit expansion and raising prices places a heavy burden upon all people with fixed incomes. This means not merely the persons who live on salaries, It also means that large class of people who live on investments in bonds and preferred stocks. There was not such a class in the time of our Civil War, when we financed largely by inflation in the particular form of paper money. The burden then fell mainly upon the salaried class.

In any event, then, we must finance this war by a deduction from the current income of all of the people, whether we finance it by inflation or do the trick more directly by saving universally.

What It Would Take

The Bankers Trust Company of New York has recently prepared an analysis of the amount of savings which would be necessary in the event that $7,500,000,000 should be furnished the government in the course of the next year by those who pay income taxes, together with subscriptions to bonds. That is only half of the estimate of the total amount.

According to those calculations, it would be necessary, in order to raise $7,500,000,000, that every person in the United States with an income in excess of $150,000 should devote between 70 and 80 per cent of his income to the payment of income taxes and bond subscriptions. It would be necessary for all those with an income between $50,000 and $150,000 to save between 60 and 70 per cent. Dropping down a little, to those between $9,000 and $30,000, they should save 40 per cent of their income, or use 40 per cent in the payment, partly, of existing taxes, and the balance for the purchase of government bonds. From 15 to 20 per cent of their income should be used in those ways by those with incomes between $2,300 and $5,000, and from 10 to 15 per cent by people with incomes from $900 to $2,500.

Nobody Doing It

Direct saving to that extent would produce, according to this estimate, something like $7,500,000,000. I think that will give you some idea of the extent to which the people must economize in order to finance the huge sums which the government is going to expend, and some idea of the extent to which they must economize indirectly through the effect of rising prices under the credit inflation policy. I doubt whether any considerable number of people, except the people of large wealth, are saving anything like the proportions which I have indicated. I frankly confess that I am nowhere reaching that proportion which is assigned for my particular income; and I doubt whether very many are. I should like to have a confession from men who happen to be in receipt of incomes between $9,000 and $30,000 whether they have during the last year, from their incomes, eliminating the shifting of investments, used 40 per cent in the purchase of bonds and in the payment of taxes. Not very many have, I fancy.

Because Nobody Does

The reason, I think, that many of us do not do this is because our neighbors do not; because we do not feel that our 20, 30 or 40 per cent, if we should make the necessary saving, would matter very much when the figures rise into the billions. Moreover, it is very much more difficult to save when our neighbors do not. Our neighbors largely set for us our standards of living. Consequently, I do not believe that any amount of preachments on the importance of economy and any amount of argument, however convincing it may be, that we are bound to be forced to economize through rising prices if we do not save—I say I do not believe that that will prove particularly effective, and I do not expect that the people of the United States, under the present methods of financing the war, will begin to save the amount which is necessary to carry us along. There is the danger that we may save so little that the credit machinery will break down.

No German

From a letter by Professor Newton Wray, in The Indianapolis News

GERMAN literature, like everything else German, has for years been spreading German propaganda. The German mind has been drilled through its literature, its schools and its churches to exalt the German system, to glorify the Kaiser and his "divine right" and to deny the moral responsibility of a nation. Can we afford to menace our national ideals by opening up this avenue of contact with such pernicious teachings?

By tolerating the German language we encourage the German press, which is already recognized as nursing anti American sentiment and menacing our government.

This attitude toward the language is not un-Christian, since we are taught to show aversion to national wrong, and the most direct and potent way to do this is to refuse recognition to the language in which such teachings are expressed.

The study of German has been based upon the argument that it was necessary in business relations, but this argument is pointless to day, since our commercial relations with Germany will continue to be strained. Let us now emphasize the study of French and Spanish in order that we may develop our increasing business with the allies and with South America—"the continent of opportunity."

Patriotism requires that we overcome the effort made by German leaders to keep masses of Germans in our country alien in ideas and sympathies. For years these leaders have inculcated the idea that the German language is all that German immigrants need in this English-speaking nation; that Germans must remain German and maintain their relation in a political sense with the fatherland from which they come. The result is that in certain sections of the country there are alien populations thriving on the prosperity of the land, but out of sympathy with its language and institutions, so that courts and public business cannot be carried on without interpreters. Any one can see that the welfare of the Republic demands that this anomalous condition should cease.

The A. S. of America

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: For your information, since you seem in an editorial this morning to infer that membership in the Aeronautical Society of America is limited to Manhattan and Brooklyn, I beg to say that, while between 50 and 60 per cent of our members reside in Manhattan and Brooklyn, the others live in different parts of the United States.

Colonel Raynal C. Bolling, recently killed at the front, was a member; and now we have thirty-five of our members, including my own son, on active service with the aviation branch of the United States army.

If your remark this morning, "We have been unable to find any other evidence save in the reports of Mr. Borglum of the Aeronautical Society 'of America,' Manhattan and Brooklyn" is made in good faith, you will undoubtedly be glad to now correct the impression it seemed to convey—that the society is a local organization.

Our sole purpose in exposing the shortcomings of the production programme is to try to create intelligent public interest in such a way as will induce the responsible men to lose no more valuable time, but instead to make full use of the resources in America of material, men with aeronautical skill and production facilities, so that we may quickly take our place in the air with our allies at the battle front.

F. W. BARKER, President,
The Aeronautical Society of America, Inc.
New York, May 17, 1918.